

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7272

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, RP

SUBJ: ADDRESS BY FOREIGN SECRETARY ROMULO

HEREWITH THE TEXT OF AN ADDRESS BY GOP FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SECRETARY CARLOS P. ROMULO BEFORE THE CONVENTION OF
THE BUREAU DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION JULY 9:

BEGIN TEXT:

I PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT SELF-RELIANCE IS THE
AXIOM OR PRINCIPLE THAT GUIDES US IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF
THE NEW SOCIETY. SINCE FOREIGN POLICY MUST REFLECT
DOMESTIC POLICY, THE SAME POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE MUST
GUIDE US IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS. IT IS A
POLICY THAT TAKES COGNIZANCE OF THE FACTS OF LIFE OF
INTERNATIONAL REALITY - THE EXISTENCE OF REGIONAL BLOCS, OF
INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG NATIONS AND BETWEEN BLOCS, OF
TREATIES, ALLIANCES, PARTNERSHIPS AS WELL AS THE SO-CALLED
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EQUILIBRIUM AMONG THE SUPERPOWERS OF THE WORLD. BUT AS

PRESIDENT MARCOS HAS ENUNCIATED IT, SELF-RELIANCE REQUIRES THAT WE MAINTAIN AN EQUIDISTANCE BETWEEN OURSELVES AND ALL THE GREAT POWERS AS WELL AS POWER BLOCS.

THE CONDITIONS SUSTAINING SUCH AN EQUILIBRIUM, AS WELL AS THE ACTUAL BALANCE OF FORCES ITSELF, ARE NOT DETERMINED NOR DEFINED BY US; THEY ARE SET BY THE CONTENDING POWERS ACCORDING TO THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT ARE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN A VANTAGE POSITION FOR THEMSELVES VIS-A-VIS EACH OTHER.

IN THIS CONTEXT, WHAT IS THE MEANING OF SELF-RELIANCE FOR COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE PHILIPPINES? IN THE MERGING POWER BALANCE IN ASIA I CONSIDER IT OUR DUTY TO MAKE THE BEST POSSIBLE ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES, AND TO PROCEED ON THE BASES OF OUR OWN ASSUMPTIONS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WE HAVE ONLY OUR INSTINCTS AND OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS TO GUIDE OUR DECISIONS.

TO ME, THIS IS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF THE HEIGHT OF SELF-RELIANCE THAT A NON-NUCLEAR POWER SUCH AS THE PHILIPPINES CAN ATTAIN. HAVING MADE AN ASSESSMENT, WE SHALL BECOME FULLY AWARE OF THE FACTORS WE HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN MAKING OUR OWN DECISIONS, BECAUSE IT IS INCUMBENT ON US NOT TO MAKE ANY PRECIPITOUS MOVES THAT WILL LEAD TO UPSETTING THE POWER BALANCE OR EQUILIBRIUM AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS.

IN OTHER WORDS, WE HAVE TO CONSISTENTLY MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE OF ACTION THAT BETWEEN US AND ANY ONE OF THE CONTENDING FORCES, WE MUST KEEP AN EQUAL DISTANCE. THIS, BY THE WAY, IS AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S AFFAIRS WHICH WE WOULD LIKE ALL POWERS TO RESPECT WITH REGARDS TO OUR OWN AFFAIRS. FOR IF WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO KEEP FROM INTERVENING IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BY THE SAME TOKEN WE MUST NOT TAKE ANY ACTION THAT WILL SEEM AS IF WE WERE INTERFERING IN THEIR RELATIONS AMONG THEMSELVES.

FROM THIS IT FOLLOWS THAT WE MUST BE AWARE OF THE
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PERCEPTIONS THAT GUIDE THE AFFAIRS AND DECISIONS OF THE MAJOR POWERS, JUST AS WE MUST BE AWARE, AND UTILIZE, OUR OWN PERCEPTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS WITH REGARD TO OUR OWN PLACE IN THIS CONFIGURATION, AND NOT TO BE COWED, NOR EVEN USE, THE PERCEPTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF OTHERS.

THIS, TO ME, IS THE ULTIMATE IN SELF-RELIANCE IN OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ANYTHING SHORT OF THIS WILL REVERT

US TO AN EARLIER ERA WHEN WE RELIED ON THE PERCEPTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF OTHERS, EVEN WHEN THEY MILITATED AGAINST OUR BEST INTERESTS.

I SAY THESE BECAUSE THERE SEEM STILL TO BE TENDENCIES TO MAKE US FALL IN LINE WITH THE PERCEPTIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF OTHERS, AS IF THESE WERE UNIVERSAL IMPERATIVES WHICH WE CANNOT ESCAPE. BUT THERE IS NOTHING INEVITABLE IN THEM.

I BELIEVE WE HAVE EMANCIPATED-OURSELVES SUFFICIENTLY FROM THIS TYPE OF INTELLECTUAL SUBSERVIENCE, SO THAT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW SELF-RELIANT POSTURE THAT IS SWEEPING THE REGION AND THE ENTIRE WORLD, WE CAN HOLD UP OUR HEADS IN PRIDE AND SELF-RESPECT AND ANNOUNCE OUR INTENTION TO MAKE DECISIONS IN THE LIGHT OF OUR SHORT-TERM OR LONG-TERM INTERESTS.

IN THIS WE ARE NOT NECESSARILY ALONE; FOR WE HAVE LEARNED THE EFFICACY OF BANDING TOGETHER WITH LIKE-MINDED NEIGHBORS, AS IN ASEAN, TO MOVE FORWARD COLLECTIVELY AND IN PURSUIT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE REGION. THUS WE JOIN OUR SINGULAR PERCEPTIONS WITH THEIRS, AND IN THIS WAY WE CONSTITUTE A NEW FORCE, ONE THAT DOES NOT ENTAIL THE MOVEMENTS OF NAVIES, AIR FORCES, OR ARMIES.

THERE ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, ATTEMPTS TO THROW IN OUR FACE CONCEPTIONS OF THE OLD THEORY OF FALLING DOMINOES, WHICH MAKE THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO CONTENDING FORCES IN THE WORLD - FORCES OF "FREEDOM" VERSUS FORCES OF COMMUNISM, AND THAT FOR EACH OF THEM THERE ARE CHAMPIONS AS WELL AS SATELLITES. THE ASSUMPTION IS THAT IF WE KNOW WITH WHOM WE OUGHT TO BE ALIGNED, THEN WE MUST BE WILLING TO ACCEPT OUR SATELLITE STATUS, AND THEREFORE TO UNCLASSIFIED

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ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS CLASSIFICATION. ACCORDING TO THIS CONCEPTION, THE PHILIPPINES MUST BE WILLING TO GIVE IN TO THE DEMANDS OF THE CHAMPION, IF WE KNOW WHAT IS GOOD FOR US.

INDEED, WE KNOW WHAT IS GOOD FOR US. BUT WHAT IS GOOD FOR US IS NOT NECESSARILY IN LINE WITH WHAT OTHERS THINK IS GOOD FOR US. SELF-RELIANCE REQUIRES THAT WE EXAMINE THE CONCEPT OF THE GOOD IN TERMS OF CHANGING SITUATIONS IN OUR REGION AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. PRESIDENT MARCOS, AS YOU KNOW, PIONEERED IN THIS RE-CASTING OF OUR PERSPECTIVES, AND THE RE-SHAPING OF OUR ASSUMPTIONS. WHAT IS INEVITABLE TO SOME IS NO LONGER SO TO ALL OF US IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. ALL OF US ARE OPERATING WITH A NEW CONCEPT OF RELATING OURSELVES TO THE MAJOR POWERS, SO THAT THE CONTENTION THAT

ANTI-AMERICAN REGIMES WILL SPROUT ALL OVER SOUTHEAST ASIA IS SIMPLY INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO US, FOR WE ARE NOT DEVELOPING ANTI-AMERICAN ATTITUDES; FAR FROM THAT, WE ARE INSTEAD DEVELOPING A MORE BALANCED OUTLOOK TOWARD THE UNITED STATES. OF COURSE THIS MAY BE CONSTRUED AS BEING ANTI-AMERICAN; THAT IS NO LONGER OUR PROBLEM, BUT IT IS PROBABLY A PROBLEM TO THOSE WHO STILL THINK IN TERMS OF THE COLD WAR.

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IN THE SAME VEIN, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT THE THEORY OF FALLING DOMINOES SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT DOMINOES CAN FALL NOT ONLY ONE WAY, BUT THE OTHER WAY. THIS MEANS, IN EFFECT, THAT WE CAN GENERATE IN OUR REGION THE NEEDED FORCE WITH WHICH TO ENFORCE THE ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM, AND NEUTRALITY THAT HAS COME TO BE ADOPTED BY US IN THE DECLARATION OF ASEAN CONCORD AND TREATY OF AMITY AND COOPERATION.

AS TO THE NOTION THAT WHAT CAN CONCEIVABLY HAPPEN IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA, OR OF ANY OTHER POWER OF

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE REGION, MAY PRECIPITATE CONSEQUENCES THAT ARE DANGEROUS TO US - THIS IS A RISK THAT THE WHOLE WORLD FACES, BUT IT SHOULD NOT PRECIPITATE US INTO PANIC. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE THEORY THAT ANY REGIME IS INHERENTLY UNSTABLE.

I THINK WE CAN ASSUME THAT THE GENERAL MOVEMENT IN THE WORLD TODAY IS TOWARDS SELF-RELIANCE, AND WHEREVER THIS UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPULSE MANIFESTS ITSELF, WE CAN DEPEND ON THE ABILITY OF A PEOPLE TO RESOLVE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS TO THEIR OWN SATISFACTION, SO THAT PROBLEMS OF SUCCESSION AND OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION OF POWER ARE MATTERS THAT CAN BE FULLY RESOLVED WITHOUT THE UNDUE INTERFERENCE OF EXTERNAL FORCES. IT IS TO THE ULTIMATE INTEREST OF ALL TO MAINTAIN THE EQUILIBRIUM OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN ONE ANOTHER'S AFFAIRS. IT IS PART OF OUR NEW SELF-RELIANCE TO MAINTAIN THIS AS AN ARTICLE OF FAITH IN OUR DEALINGS WITH ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

I SUBMIT, THEN, THAT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE THEME OF THIS CONFERENCE, SELF-RELIANCE, THIS IS NOT THE OCCASION TO BE PANICKED INTO PRECIPITOUS ACTION BY PREDICTIONS OF IMPENDING DISASTER FROM ANY QUARTER. APART FROM THE FACT THAT THIS IS AN UNDIGNIFIED ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THIS REGION, THE PREDICTIONS ARE, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, NOT QUITE VALID. THEY PROCEED FROM ASSUMPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE SITUATION THAT ARE NOT OURS ANYMORE IN THE LIGHT OF CHANGING INTERNATIONAL REALITIES. BUT MORE THAN THAT, WE ARE OPERATING WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW SENSE OF INTEGRITY AND OF WHAT BEST PROMOTE OUR INTERESTS AS A MEMBER OF ASEAN AND OF THE THIRD WORLD. IT IS TIME THAT WE EXORCISE THE GHOSTS OF YESTER-YEAR FROM OURSELVES; IT IS TIME THAT WE THINK AND ACT AS A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT NATION. END TEXT.
SULLIVAN

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